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Office of Educational Equity





## The Commonwealth of Massachusetts Department of Education

1385 Hancock Street, Quincy, Massachusetts 02169-5183

October 30, 1989

TO:

Commissioner Raypolds

FROM:

Charles Glenn, Executive Director

RE:

Statistical Report on Statewide Desegregation

Massachusetts is virtually unique among the states in its efforts to promote school desegregation. These efforts are based upon policy established by the Legislature and upon the Board of Education's responsibility to protect the constitutional rights of minority pupils. Extensive state funding and technical assistance is provided to school systems that are developing and implementing desegregation plans.

Desegregation in Massachusetts has experienced a major setback this year--despite the growing number of cities seeking to implement plans—because of deep cuts in state funding for this purpose, and in the authorization level for new magnet school facilities. This is the first time since the adoption of the Massachusetts Racial Balance Law in 1965 that state support for educational equity has diminished.

The relation between state and federal requirements, and the primary sources of state support for desegregation, are described at the end of this report.

The simplest and most flexible measure of the extent to which schools in a community are racially identifiable is to compare the minority enrollment of each school with the system-wide minority enrollment for that system.

This report covers seven Massachusetts cities with substantial minority enrollments which have implemented race desegregation plans. Boston will be discussed in a separate report related to the new controlled choice plan. Fall River, New Bedford, Northampton, Salem, Medford, Methuen and Revere are also implementing plans, but are not included in this report.

The degree of desegregation varies among the seven communities. The following table shows the overall minority proportion in each community (excluding high schools and some intermediate schools), and the extent to which the average school deviates from that proportion; it is thus a good indication of the effectiveness of

each desegregation plan.

	Minority		Average	
	Proportion		Deviation	
Cambridge	50%	3	percentage	points
Lawrence	73%	6	percentage	points
Holyoke	69%	6	percentage	points
Lowell	46%	7	percentage	points
Lynn	35%	10	percentage	points
Springfield	61%		percentage	
Worcester	33%	15	percentage	points

The average school in these districts is 10 percentage points above or below the citywide proportion, and we have encouraged school systems to take 10 percentage points or less as their goal in implementing a plan. A plan for Lynn was recently approved, however, with a 15 percentage point range.

## Schools in Desegregating Districts, 1989, ranked by Deviation from the Citywide Minority Proportion in Each Community

WORCESTER	WOODLAND	37%
WORCESTER	BELMONT	31%
LYNN	Sewell Anderson	26%
SPRINGFIELD	LINCOLN	26%
SPRINGFIELD	CHESTNUT	26%
WORCESTER	CHANDLER	26%
SPRINGFIELD WORCESTER WORCESTER WORCESTER LYNN WORCESTER WORCESTER WORCESTER WORCESTER WORCESTER SPRINGFIELD LOWELL WORCESTER SPRINGFIELD	BRIGHTWD ROOSEVELT CHANDLER MAG ST.NICHOLAS RICE SQ Lynn Wds GAGE ST DARTMOUTH WAWECUS RD DEBERRY COLBURN HEARD HARRIS	25%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%%
WORCESTER SPRINGFIELD SPRINGFIELD SPRINGFIELD	NELSON PL COMMERCE HIGH INDIAN ORCHARD HOWARD ST	20% 20% 20% 20%

SPRINGFIELD SPRINGFIELD WORCESTER WORCESTER WORCESTER LOWELL SPRINGFIELD SPRINGFIELD LAWRENCE WORCESTER WORCESTER LYNN WORCESTER	BRUNTON LIBERTY WEST TATNUCK VERNON HILL MAY ST GREEN BEAL WHITE ST ROllins NEW LUDLOW LAKE VIEW Shoemaker ELM PK	20% 19% 18% 18% 18% 17% 17% 17% 16%
WORCESTER SPRINGFIELD WORCESTER WORCESTER LOWELL SPRINGFIELD HOLYOKE WORCESTER LYNN WORCESTER LOWELL LYNN WORCESTER LAWRENCE LAWRENCE SPRINGFIELD LOWELL HOLYOKE SPRINGFIELD WORCESTER LYNN LYNN SPRINGFIELD LOWELL LYNN SPRINGFIELD LOWELL LOWELL LOWELL LOWELL WORCESTER LYNN SPRINGFIELD LOWELL WORCESTER LYNN SPRINGFIELD LOWELL WORCESTER LYNN SPRINGFIELD WORCESTER LYNN SPRINGFIELD WORCESTER LYNN SPRINGFIELD WORCESTER	MIDLAND KILEY GREENDALE GATES LANE FLAGG SHAUGHNESS POTTENGER MCMAHON MCGRATH Connery CLARK ST AMES Aborn MILLBURY CANTERBURY Breen Tarbox TALMADGE MOLLOY LAWRENCE KIRTLAND GLENWOOD COLUMBUS CObbett Washington WARNER REILLY MOODY LINCOLN Ingalls DORMAN BURNCOAT	15588888888888888888888888888888888888
SPRINGFIELD LYNN LAWRENCE LOWELL	CENTRAL HIGH Pickering Jr Hi Storrow RIVERSIDE	10% 10% 10% 10%

SPRINGFIELD LYNN LYNN LAWRENCE WORCESTER SPRINGFIELD LYNN LOWELL SPRINGFIELD SPRINGFIELD SPRINGFIELD LYNN LOWELL LYNN LOWELL LYNN LYNN LOWELL CAMBRIDGE LAWRENCE LAWRENCE LAWRENCE LOWELL HOLYOKE WORCESTER LOWELL WORCESTER LYNN	HOMER ST Sisson Robinson Oliver NORRBACK FOREST PK Drewicz CITY CARD. O'CO BALLIET 16 ACRES Tracy LEBLANC Eastern Jr Hi Harrington ARTS TOBIN COMPUT Gen. Donovan Arlington ROBINSON PAWTUCKETV MORGAN MILL SWAN LINCOLN GRANITE Brickett	1999999999888877766666666666666666666666
LOWELL HOLYOKE WORCESTER SPRINGFIELD LAWRENCE SPRINGFIELD SPRINGFIELD LYNN LYNN CAMBRIDGE SPRINGFIELD LAWRENCE SPRINGFIELD WORCESTER WORCESTER CAMBRIDGE LOWELL HOLYOKE CAMBRIDGE LYNN HOLYOKE SPRINGFIELD HOLYOKE	VARNUM SULLIVAN QUINSIGAMOND NEW NRTH Leonard KENSNGTN KENNEDY Hood Putnam Voc/Tech HARRINGTON GLICKMAN Frost BOWLES ADAMS ST UNION HILL TOBIN ROGERS METCALF MAYNARD LONGFELLOW Lincoln KELLY FREEDMAN E.C.C.	아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아 아

HOLYOKE	DONAHUE	48
LOWELL	DALEY	4%
LOWELL	WASHINGTON	3 %
WORCESTER	THORNDYKE	3 %
LAWRENCE	Saunders	3%
HOLYOKE	PECK	3%
LOWELL	MCAVINNUE	3%
LAWRENCE	Hennessey	3%
WORCESTER	HARLOW	3
CAMBRIDGE	HAGGERTY	3%
WORCESTER	GRAFTON	3%
LYNN	Ford	3%
CAMBRIDGE	FLETCHER	3%
LOWELL	BARTLETT	3%
CAMBRIDGE	AGASSIZ	3%
CAMBRIDGE	MORSE	2%
HOLYOKE	LYNCH	2%
CAMBRIDGE	KING	2%
LAWRENCE	Kane	2%
LOWELL	J.PYNE	2 8
WORCESTER	FREELAND	2 8
SPRINGFIELD	ELLS	2%
WORCESTER	DOWNING	2%
LOWELL	BUTLER	2%
LAWRENCE	Wetherbee	1%
SPRINGFIELD	VAN SICKLE	1%
LOWELL	PINE/BRADY	1%
LAWRENCE	Leahy	1%
CAMBRIDGE	KENNEDY	1%
HOLYOKE	HIGHLAND	1%
CAMBRIDGE	GRHM/PARKS	1%
CAMBRIDGE	FITZGERALD	1%
LYNN	Callahan	1%
LAWRENCE	Bruce	1%
SPRINGFIELD	ARMORY	1%
WORCESTER	TATNUCK	0%
SPRINGFIELD	SUMNER	0%
LYNN	Breed Jr Hi	0%
LAWRENCE	Salem St	0%
CAMBRIDGE	PEABODY	0%
LOWELL	MOREY	0%
LAWRENCE	Lawlor	0%
LOWELL	GREENHLGE	0%
		•

Cambridge 1986 & 1989: Minority Enrollments and Deviation from Citywide Minority Proportion in Elementary (k-8) Schools

Cambridge developed and adopted the first "controlled choice"

assignment plan in the nation in 1981; it has proved highly effective in achieving stable desegregation in all schools.

	19	86	19	89
	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV
AGASSIZ	45%	-2%	47%	-3%
FITZGERALD	53%	6%	51%	1%
FLETCHER	46%	-1%	53%	3%
HAGGERTY	45%	-2%	47%	-3%
HARRINGTON	41%	-6%	45%	-5%
KENNEDY	43%	-4%	51%	1%
KING	51%	4%	52%	2%
LONGFELLOW	47%	0%	54%	4%
MORSE	49%	2%	52%	2%
PEABODY	49%	2%	50%	0%
MAYNARD	51%	4%	54%	4%
TOBIN	46%	-1%	46%	-4%
TOBIN COMPUTER			43%	7%
GRHM/PARKS	51%	<b>4</b> %	51%	1%
TOTAL	47%		50%	

### Holyoke 1986 & 1989: Minority Enrollment of Elementary and Intermediate Schools and Deviation from Citywide Proportion

The Holyoke elementary plan is modeled on that in Springfield, with primary and upper elementary schools grouped to achieve a desegregated enrollment in each. The two intermediate schools are desegregated through districting.

	198	86	19	89
	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV
HIGHLAND	61%	<b>3</b> %	70%	1%
MCMAHON	47%	-11%	55%	-14%
MORGAN	73%	15%	75%	6%
KELLY	65%	7%	65%	-4%
LAWRENCE	74%	16%	81%	12%
SULLIVAN	51%	-7%	64%	<del>-</del> 5%
E.C.C.			73%	4 %
DONAHUE	64%	<b>6</b> %	65%	-4%
KIRTLAND	58%	0%	81%	12%
METCALF	67%	9%	73응	4%
WHITE	17%	-41%		
PECK JR HI	50왕	<b>-</b> 8%	66%	-3%
LYNCH JR HI	52%	<del>-</del> 6%	71%	2%
	5.00		600	
average	58%		69%	

Lawrence 1986, 1988 & 1989: Minority Enrollment of Elementary and Intermediate Schools and Deviation from Citywide Proportion

Lawrence adopted and implemented a "controlled choice" desegregation plan for its elementary and intermediate schools in 1987, after having successfully implemented a 1984 plan based upon mandatory reassignments.

	1986 ENR	1986 DEV	1988 ENR	1988 DEV	1989 ENR	1989 DEV
Arlington Breen Bruce Frost Gen. Donovan Hennessey Kane Lawlor Leahy Leonard Oliver Rollins Salem St Saunders Storrow Tarbox Wetherbee	69% % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % %	6% % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % %	75% % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % %	5 % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % %	80288888888888888888888888888888888888	78 -13% -15% -15% -17% -17% -17% -17% -17% -17% -17% -17
Total	63%	-10	70%	3 6	73%	<u></u> 0

Lowell 1986-89: Minority Enrollment of Elementary and Intermediate Schools and Deviation from Citywide Proportion

Lowell adopted and implemented a "controlled choice" assignment plan for its elementary and intermediate schools in 1986.

						~		
	1986		1987		1988		1989	
	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV
AMES	41%	9%			35%	-7%	32%	-14%
ARTS	36%	4%	34%	-1%	35%	-7%	38%	-8%
BARTLETT	47%	15%	46%	11%	43%	1%	49%	3
BOYS CLUB	100%	68%						
BUTLER	30%	-2%					44%	-2%
CARD. O'CO	54%	22%	62%	27%	60%	18%	55%	9 %

CITY COLBURN DALEY	42% 20% 26%	10% -12% -6%	41% 15% 25%	6% -20% -10%	36% 21% 40%	-6% -21% -2%	37% 24% 42%	-98 -228 -48
GREEN GREENHLGE	62왕 33왕	30응 1응	57% 3 <b>3</b> %	22응 -2응	52% 46%	10응 <b>4</b> 응	64% 4 <b>6</b> %	18% 0%
J.PYNE	3%	-29%	50%	15%	48%	6%	48%	2%
LEBLANC	13%	-19%	17%	-18%	40%	-2%	38%	-88
LINCOLN	43%	11%	47%	12%	54%	12%	52%	6%
MCAVINNUE	6왕	-26%	13%	-22%	38%઼	-4응	43%	-3%
MOLLOY	40%	8 ક	<b>45</b> 응	10%	51%	9%	58ક	12%
MOODY			17%	-18%	33%	-9%	35%	-11%
MOORE ST	76%	44%						
MOREY	26%	-6%	31%	-4%	45%	3%	46%	0%
PAWTUCKETV	41%	9%	43%	88	44%	2%	52%	<b>6</b> %
PINE/BRADY	6%	-26%	31%	-4%	45%	<b>3</b> %	47%	1%
REILLY	13%	-19%	25%	-10%	33%	<b>-9</b> %	35%	-11%
RIVERSIDE					59%	17%	56%	10%
ROBINSON	30%	-2%	36%	1%	38%	-4%	40%	-6%
ROGERS	30%	<b>-</b> 2%	32%	<b>-3</b> 응	38%	-4%	50%	4%
SHAUGHNESS	44%	12%	56%	21%	47%	5왕	- 60용	14%
VARNUM	24%	-8%	33%	-2%	44%	2%	51%	5%
WASHINGTON	32%	0%	25%	-10%	30%	-12%	49%	3%
TOTAL	32%		35%		42%		46%	

Lynn 1986-89: Minority Enrollments and Deviation from Citywide Minority Proportion in Elementary Schools

	1986 Minority			1987 Minority		88 ity	1989 Minority	
	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV
Sewell And Lynn Wds Shoemaker Aborn Connery Cobbett Ingalls Washington Drewicz	3% 5% 6% 36% 436% 45% 48% 20%	21% 19% 18% 21% 19% 12% 21% 24% 4%	2% 5% 4% 3% 55% 40% 50% 51% 30%	25% 22% 23% 24% 28% 13% 23% 24% 3%	3% 9% 26% 12% 54% 40% 48% 43% 36%	28% 22% 5% 19% 23% 9% 17% 12%	9% 12% 19% 21% 49% 46% 46% 44%	26% 23% 16% 14% 11% 11% 9%
Robinson Sisson Harrington Tracy Brickett Hood	3% 55% 13% 11% 10%	21% 31% 11% 13% 14%	8% 57% 20% 12% 11%	19% 30% 7% 15% 16%	18% 44% 26% 19% 25%	13% 13% 5% 12%	26% 26% 43% 43% 29%	9988885
Lincoln	19%	5 ક	17%	10용	25응	6%	31%	4 %

Ford Callahan	16% 28%	8% 4%	23% 32%	4% 5%	31% 40%	0왕 <b>9</b> 왕	32% 36%	3왕 1왕
Average	24%		27%		31%		35%	
Average Dev	ation	16%		17%		12%		11%

## Lynn 1986-89: Intermediate Schools with Deviation from Citywide Minority Proportion

	1	986	1989	
	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV
Breed Eastern Pickering	27% 41% 5%	1% 15% -21%	29응 37응 19응	0% 8% -10%
Average	26%		29%	

Springfield 1986 & 1989: Minority Enrollment of Elementary and Intermediate Schools and Deviation from Citywide Proportion

Springfield's junior high school desegregation plan, implemented in the late 1960s, involved closing a predominantly-black school and redistributing the pupils. Some further desegregation has been achieved through voluntary (magnet) transfers.

The Six District Plan for the elementary schools was implemented in 1974, with an amendment implemented in 1976 to reduce the isolation of Hispanic pupils.

	1986		1989	
	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV
LINCOLN CHESTNUT BRIGHTWD DEBERRY HOWARD ST ALTERNATIVE POTTENGER GLENWOOD DORMAN HOMER ST NEW NRTH	898 828 808 718 728 738 708 738 738	32% 25% 23% 14% 26% 15% 11% 13% 26% 16%	878 878 868 838 818 758 738 718	268 268 258 208 1488 11088 11088
ELLS	66%	9%	63%	2%

VAN SICKLE ARMORY SUMNER FREEDMAN BOWLES GLICKMAN KENSNGTN KENNEDY 16 ACRES FOREST PK BALLIET WARNER TALMADGE KILEY WHITE ST	6579888888888888888888888888888888888888	8 % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % % %	66655555555554444 2888888888888888888888888	18888888888888888888888888888888888888
WHITE ST BEAL LIBERTY BRUNTON INDIAN ORCHA HARRIS				
TOTAL	57%		61%	

Springfield implemented the first stage of its high school desegregation plan in September 1986, with the opening of the new Central High School. This plan has not achieved its race and sex desegregation goals; indeed, the situation has worsened over the past three years. Newly-appointed Superintendent Peter Negroni is aware of and intends to address this issue.

	1 <b>9</b> 86		1989	
	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV
CENTRAL HI COMMERCE PUTNAM	38% 68% 53%	-13% 17% 2%	51% 81% 56%	-10% 20% -5%
TOTAL	51%		61%	

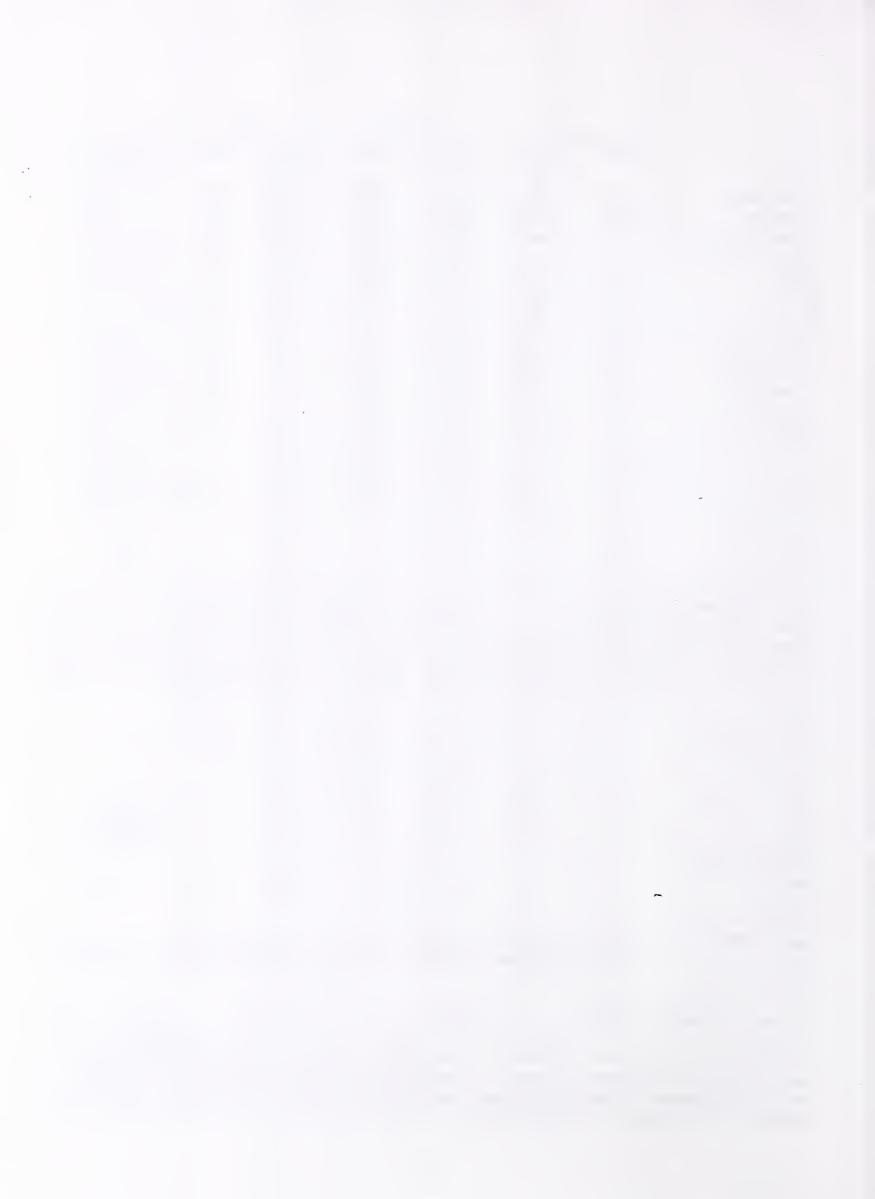
Worcester 1986, 1988 & 1989: Minority Enrollment of Elementary Schools and Deviation from Citywide Proportion

The Worcester desegregation plan adopted in 1983-84 applies only to elementary schools. The junior high and high schools each serve quadrants of the city which are residentially desegregated.

Worcester has been engaged for several years in developing a new plan that can cope effectively with the changing demographics of the city and the expanding need for bilingual education services.

	19	986	6 1988		1989	
	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV	ENR	DEV
WOODLAND	64%	38%	66%	35%	70%	37%
BELMONT	65%	39%	60%	29%	64%	31%
CHANDLER	67%	41%	63%	32%	59%	26%
CHANDLER MAG			57%	26%	57%	24%
GAGE ST	44%	18%	59%	28%	56%	23%
ST.NIK	59%	33%	5 <b>2</b> %	21%	56%	23%
ELM PK	55%	29%	52%	21%	49%	16%
CLARK ST	42%	16%	44%	13%	47%	14%
CANTERBURY	42%	16%	44%	13%	46%	13%
COLUMBUS	39%	13%	39%	8왕	45%	12%
BURNCOAT	38%	12%	45%	14%	44%	11%
LINCOLN	51%	25%	50%	19%	<b>4</b> 4응	11%
GRANITE	9%	-17%	36%	5%	39%	6 ક
ADAMS ST	43%	17%	42%	11%	38%	5%
HARLOW	38%	12%	38%	<b>7</b> %	36%	3 ક
DOWNING	32%	6%	25%	-6%	35%	2%
FREELAND	17%	-9%	30%	-1%	35%	2%
TATNUCK	13%	-13%	32%	1%	33%	0%
GRAFTON	16%	-10%	29%	<del>-</del> 2%	30%	- 3%
THORNDYKE	28%	2%	26%	-5%	30%	-3%
UNION HILL	15%	-11%	23%	-8%	29%	-4%
QUINSIGAMOND	21%	-5%	31%	0%	28%	-5%
MILL SWAN	26%	0%	27%	<b>-4</b> %	27%	-6%
NORRBACK	14%	<b>-12</b> 응	25%	-6%	24%	-9%
MILLBURY	11%	-15%	17%	-14%	20%	<del>-</del> 13%
MCGRATH	6%	-20%	10%	-21%	19%	-14%
FLAGG	5%	-21%	11%	-20%	18%	-15%
GATES LANE	8%	-18%	8 %	-23%	18%	-15%
GREENDALE	3%	-23%	10%	-21%	18%	-15%
MIDLAND	6%	-20%	21%	-10%	18%	-15%
LAKE VIEW	7%	-19%	19%	-12%	16%	-17%
NEW LUDLOW	13%	-13%	16%	-15%	16%	-17%
MAY ST	9 %	-17%	17%	-14%	15%	-18%
WEST TATNUCK	6%	-20%	7%	-24%		-18%
VERNON HILL	9%	-17%	9%	-22%	15%	-18%
NELSON PL	6%	-20%	5%	-26%	13%	-20%
HEARD	<b>7</b> %	-19%	11%	-20%	12%	-21%
WAWECUS RD	2%	-24%	8%	-23%	11%	-22%
DARTMOUTH	16%	-10%	7%	-24%	10%	-23%
RICE SQ	2%	-24%	4 %	-27%	10%	-23%
ROOSEVELT	10%	-16%	11%	-20%	9%	-24%
	100	100		200	5 0	2 1 0
ELEM TOTAL	26%		31%		33%	

In view of the persistence of racially-identifiable schools in a number of communities, it would be appropriate to remind school committees and superintendents of their obligations under state and federal law.



# MASSACHUSETTS AND FEDERAL REQUIREMENTS

### 1. Requirements under State Law

State law defines a school whose enrollment is more than 50% "non-white" as "racially imbalanced," and requires the school system operating such a school to implement various measures that will encourage and allow voluntary transfers of students that will have the effect of eliminating this condition.

Various incentives are provided to encourage and assist school districts in doing so, including transportation reimbursements, increased construction reimbursements, funding for magnet schools, and an "Equal Education Improvement Fund" to improve the quality of education in desegregated schools. These incentives, and the urban/suburban Metco Program, are offered under Chapter 636 of 1974.

A difficulty arises in the definition of "non-white." When the original Racial Imbalance Act was prepared, in 1965, there were few Hispanic students in the Commonwealth, and the drafters did not define how "non-white" should be applied. Early controversies arose over whether Cape Verdean and Chinese students should be counted as "non-white" along with Black students (decisions were reached that they should be), and there has been a continuing uncertainty about how to count Hispanic students. As is well known, there is a wide range of racial characteristics among Hispanic peoples, even though all are considered "minority" under Federal law.

On the advice of then-Attorney General Brooke, the responsibility has been placed upon local school officials to use their best judgment as to whether

particular students should be considered "white" or "non-white" in making the racial census. I have also provided detailed guidelines on how and why to carry out the racial census.

### 2. Requirements under Federal Law

The term "non-white" is not used by the Office for Civil Rights or by the desegregation cases which have been resolved in the federal court system.

A comprehensive category of "minority" is used, which includes Black, Hispanic, Native American (that is, Indian), and Asian-American Students.

Federal law does not create an obligation to reduce racial imbalance, as does state law. Instead, it forbids official action that results in the segregation or isolation of minority students. The story of desegregation cases since Brown in 1954 is largely one of defining the kinds of actions which would constitute such segregation, and the kinds of remedial measures which are necessary once a finding of illegal segregation has been made.

### 3. Reconciling the Two in Massachusetts

- A school system with schools more than 50% "nonwhite" <u>must</u> implement measures to encourage voluntary transfers that will improve racial balance.
- If the system is planning schools, or redistricting, or changing grade structures, or permitting school transfers, it must take racial balance into account in so doing.
- A school system with a disproportionate number of "minority" students in certain schools may take a variety of measures—including voluntary transfers, redistricting, or changing grade structures—to reduce this isolation.
- If the system is planning schools, or redistricting, or changing grade structures, or permitting student transfers, it must assure that these measures do not result in further segregation, whether intended or unintended but predictable.

- The Board of Education <u>must</u> take care not to approve measures (school construction, for example) which would result in further segregation.
- The Board may provide financial support and encouragement to school systems to reduce racial isolation on a voluntary basis, even when racial imbalance as such does not exist but is potential.

In practice, what this means is that we give particular attention to assuring that school systems do not take actions that would constitute official action resulting in segregation of minority students, and that they correct the effects of any past actions that they may have taken that had that result. We provide advice and assistance to protect the school system—and the Board—from desegregation litigation.

Over the past ten years every school system which we have approached with such concerns has taken appropriate steps without the need for state enforcement actions, though sometimes only after extended discussions and negotiations!

#### Massachusetts Among The States

Nationwide, state government and state education agencies have been perceived--correctly--as reluctant and ineffective defenders of the constitutional rights of minority students, including the right not to be segregated. During the first round of school desegregation cases, the laws and policies of the seventeen states with laws requiring racially-separate schools were a primary basis for ordering remedial plans.

More recently, desegregation litigation in the North has generally involved the states as defendants, and Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, and Indiana have been found guilty of contributing to unconstitutional racial segregation through policies and practices or through neglect of legal responsibilities. In response, and also as a result of the desire of the federal government to "get off the hook" of enforcing desegregation requirements, there has been considerable interest in the state role in desegregation and equal educational opportunity.

While thirty-nine states have passed some type of legislation or policy in support of equal opportunity and/or desegregation, only five states--Illinois, Massachusetts,

New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania--have ever initiated enforcement actions to require that school systems eliminate racial isolation, and this state's efforts have been the most consistent and successful, according to a national study.

Enforcement in Massachusetts was carried out from 1965 to 1974 on the basis of the Racial Imbalance Law, drafted by the Department of Education with the assistance of a Board-appointed study group. Under this statute racial balance plans were approved for Boston, Cambridge, Medford, and Springfield during the late 1960's; when implementation (mostly involving school construction) proved dilatory, the Board ordered development and implementation of "short-term" plans for Boston, New Bedford, and Springfield. In five rulings of the Supreme Judicial Court the Board's enforcement actions received strong support.

The racial Imbalance Law was drastically amended in 1974, substituting greatly increased funding for the power to order school redistricting. Since Boston and Springfield were already under court orders to implement the plans previously ordered by the Board, this seemed no great loss, and the next several years were taken up with setting up programs of state financial support to desegregation which are unparalleled among the states.

Only four states--Massachusetts, New York, and Wisconsin, recently joined by Minnessota--have appropriated state funds directly to support implementation of desegregation without being ordered to do so by a federal court.

The Massachusetts program of support for desegregation has several inter-locking elements, presented here in the order of their creation:

Construction assistance has involved extra financial (a) support for those construction/renovation projects that are undertaken as part of a racial balance plan; as noted, early plans generally called for building new schools with enlarged attendance areas which would draw racially-diverse enrollments. Schools have been built under this provision in Boston, Cambridge, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, Revere, Springfield, and Worcester with a total cost of more than Many additional projects--critically needed million. space problems as well as respond to desegregation--are presently held up pending the availability of funding.

- (b) Transportation reimbursement at an entitlement of 100% was originally established to support "Operation Exodus," a program organized by Black parents in Boston to transport their children to available space in predominantly-white schools; it has since proved of benefit to Boston and Springfield, in particular, as they have implemented their court-ordered plans. The Board has filed legislation to extend this support to other desegregating districts. The impact of this program has been reduced by the underfunding of the transportation account.
- (c) Urban/suburban transfers (commonly called "Metco" after the organization which pioneered the program) are supported by an annual appropriation; this pays for tuition, specialized support staff, and transportation costs for more than 3,500 minority students who attend suburban Boston and Springfield schools. Level-funding of this program has placed it under severe pressure.
- (d) The Equal Education Improvement Funds (previously \$9,641,900, reduced to \$8,854,000 in FY '90) are set up for each system implementing a racial balance or desegregation plan, and each fund receives a share of the funds appropriated proportionate to the number of students reassigned. These funds may be used in any way to strengthen education, subject to the guidelines and priorities established by the Board. Their reduction this year has been a severe blow to urban education.
- (e) Magnet school funding (previously \$5,350,000, reduced to \$5,000,000 in FY '90) supports additional costs of magnet schools. These funds have been the "cutting edge" of state desegregation efforts, since they have permitted such systems as Holyoke and Worcester to develop voluntary desegregation plans and to implement them with increased support for education. More than 200 magnet schools enrolling 110,000 students currently have a claim on these funds. Although these schools represent models of effective integrated education, the need to share the funds more and more widely is severely reducing the impact of this program on urban school reform.

Over the past dozen years, state efforts in Massachusetts have taken a new direction, as we have worked with school systems to develop and implement voluntary plans, using the standards of the United States Constitution in addition to

those of the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law. Our goal has been to assure that the rights of every minority child not to be segregated and to receive equal educational opportunities were protected. Voluntary actions has prevented the desegregation litigation which was necessary in Boston because of the narrow scope of earlier racial balance efforts.

Much opposition, based in part on fear, in part on prejudice, has been successfully overcome. Communities which threatened to divide along racial and ethnic lines have found a measure of unity in support of desegregation plans that make educational improvement central.

But all of this progress is profoundly threatened today by the slackening of state support and commitment as reflected in the budget. It is hard to be confident of further progress so long as the present fiscal situation persists.